

# A rock engraving of Pan at Faskomelia Hill in Vouliagmeni, Attica.

## The presence of the god Pan in the battle of Marathon<sup>1</sup>

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### ABSTRACT

*The ancient deme of Aixonides Halai flourished on the south-western slopes of Mount Hymettus, Attica. The geomorphological environment and the ancient architectural remains outline the deme's rural character and provide evidence for a prosperous economy based on agriculture and fishery. A significant number of various inscriptions has been found at the semi-mountainous areas of the deme. They have been attributed mainly to shepherds, and their existence directly points to the rural use of the place. Recently, on a rocky plateau of Faskomelia hill, the rock engravings of two figures were detected. The figures are standing in line and have been identified with the god Pan and a hoplite. Pan is the one who precedes, and the hoplite the one that follows. After a short presentation of the Arcadian god Pan, the paper deals with the spread and establishment of his cult in Attica, his connection with the battle of Marathon and his role in the final victorious outcome. This never before seen engraving dates back to the first half of the 5th century B.C. The depiction of Pan together with a warrior-hoplite directly creates the allusion that the artist wanted to represent a scene from the battle of Marathon, capturing the moment that the Athenian army, in phalanx formation, is thrown to the barbarians at the double.*

### INTRODUCTION

The ancient deme of Aixonides Halai<sup>2</sup> was organised during the reformation of Cleisthenes in southern Attica, where the areas of the modern municipalities of Voula and Vouliagmeni are located (Fig. 1). The deme originated in the lower, south-western foothills of Hymettus, nearby the western sea front, and bordered the deme of

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1 The authors spotted the engraving during one of their nature walks in the hills of Faskomelia. After their discovery, they found a significant number of already published graffito and engraving marks, as well as of other previously unknown, whose publication will ensue, and the entire endeavour acquired another interesting dimension, that of genuine archaeological exploration.

2 Dodwell 1819, 556; Eliot 1962, 25–6; Whitehead 1986, 372; Bengtson 1991, 126–28.

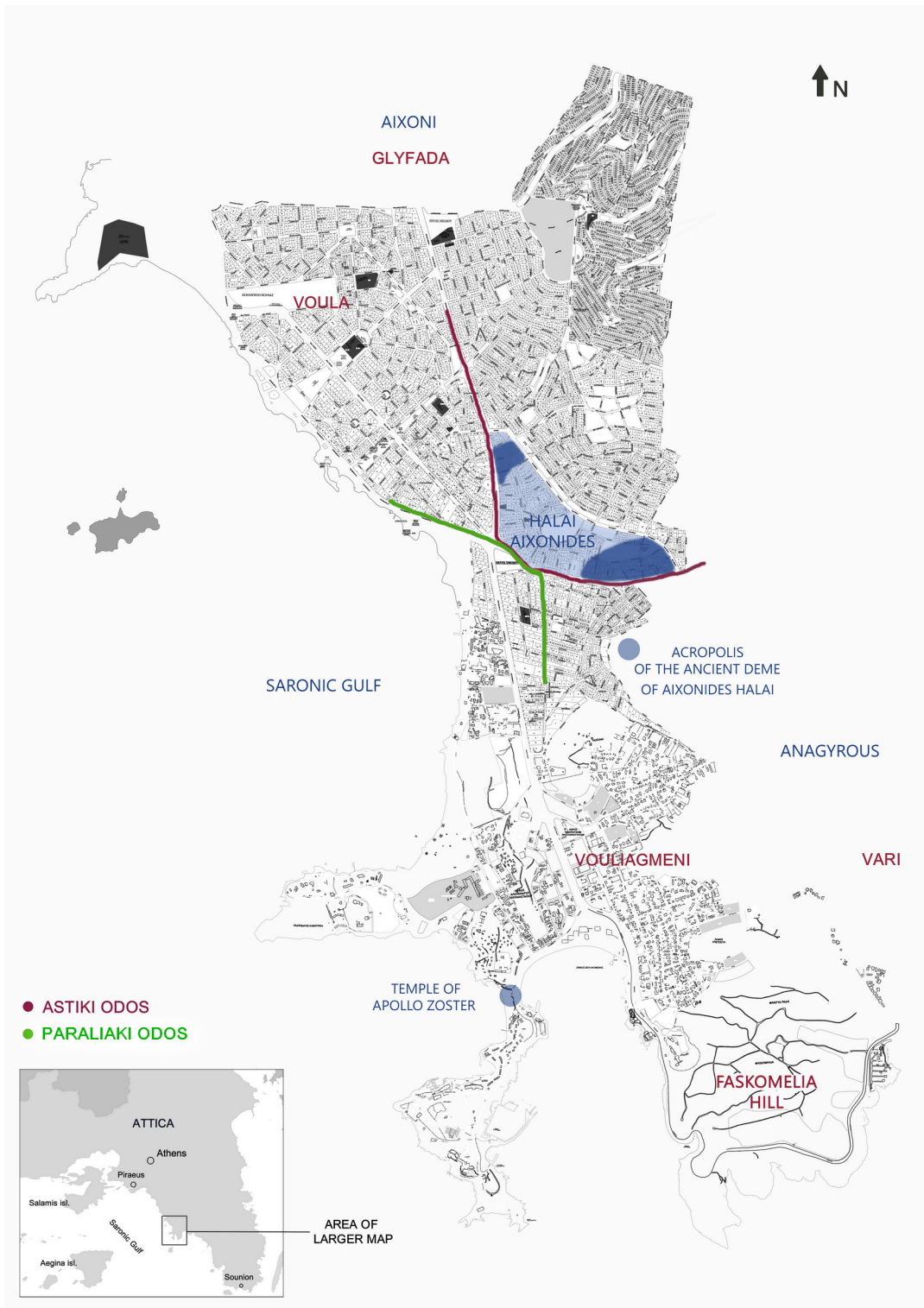


Fig. 1. Map of the ancient deme of Aixonides Halai with the main archaeological sites (center of the deme, Apollo Zoster Temple, fortified acropolis, main ancient roads) Faskomelia hill, modern and ancient demes.

Anagyrountos (modern areas of Vari-Varkiza) and Aixonis<sup>3</sup> (modern Glyfada). Alongside Aixonis, they formed the coastal subdivision (*τριτύς*) of the tribe of Kekropides.<sup>4</sup> The name “Halai Aixonides” (*Ἁλαὶ Αἰξωνίδες*) derives from its geographical position –since it was a coastal deme– as well as from its proximity to the deme of Aixonis.<sup>5</sup> Based on the archaeological data presently available, it consisted of two settlements<sup>6</sup> in the periphery, where large farmhouses were built in the course of the 4th century B.C.<sup>7</sup> The religious center of the Halaieis was the temple of Apollo Zoster, on the Laimos Peninsula.<sup>8</sup> The organised acropolis<sup>9</sup> of the settlement was on the hill of Kastraki.

The extent of the ancient deme can be traced to its privileged position, as well as the geomorphological setting of the area. It was conveniently located just one day walk from the city of Athens, in direct proximity to the sea front, and positioned in an area suitable for farming and fishing activities. The intersection of two central highways, both of which were important for the entire region of Attica, within the limits of the deme, also intensified its development. These are the “Astiki odos” and the “Paraliaki odos”, starting from the Diomeian Gates and Faliron respectively, and both terminate at Sounion.<sup>10</sup>

The geomorphological setting and the residential remains determine the agricultural character of the deme and are indicative of a thriving economy based on fishing and farming activities practised and traded even beyond Attica.<sup>11</sup> More specifically, the semi-mountainous landscape of the deme of Aixonides Halai was suitable for beekeeping, logging and animal husbandry.<sup>12</sup> The exploitation of the southern part of Hymettus for the aforementioned activities in the Archaic and Classical periods<sup>13</sup> is evidenced by the presence of engravings,<sup>14</sup> inscriptions and representations on the rocks, such as figures of humans<sup>15</sup> and a Satyr.<sup>16</sup>

In particular, erotic inscriptions,<sup>17</sup> engravings of ships,<sup>18</sup> feet and animals, as well as nonsense inscriptions<sup>19</sup> –mainly attributed to shepherds– were discovered in an area of 1,200 m<sup>2</sup>, on the so-called hill of Faskomelia,<sup>20</sup>

3 Strabo (9.1.21) “μακρὰ ἄκρα πρώτη μετὰ τοὺς Αἰξωνέας Ζωστήρ... ὃν τῆς πρόκειται νῆσος Φάβρα”.

4 The deme of Phlyus (modern Chalandri), Athmonon (modern Maroussi), Pithus (modern Psychico-Philothei), Sypalittos (modern Lykovrissi), Trinemeus (modern Parnitha), Xypete (modern municipalities of Moschato and Renti), Daedalids (...) and Melite (Pnyka) also belonged to the same tribe.

5 There are two approaches to the etymology of the word *Αἰξωνή*: Plato attributes the origin of the verb *αἰξωνέομαι* (cuss or badmouth) and the noun *αἰξωνεΐα* (blasphemy or slander) to the Aixonides (Laches 197c9). According to Surmelēs (1854, 45–6) the etymology of the word can be traced to the words *αἶξ* (goat) καὶ *ὄνη* (the value of the goat). Similarly, he believes that the inhabitants of the deme were mockers and sweepers, thus the proverb “*Ἀληθῶς εἶ Αἰξωνεύς*”.

6 Andreou 1994, 191–209; Giamalidi and Daifa 2013, 113–26; Giamalidi 2013, 27–31.

7 Mussche 1975, 45–54; Lohmann 1989, 189–95. The systematic archaeological surveys in the areas of Voula and Vouliagmeni in the past 30 years resulted in the discovery of significant remains, the composition of which allows us to have a clear picture of the residential organisation of the ancient municipality. In general, for the organisation of the Attic demes see Steinhauer 1994, 175–189; Hoepfner 2005, 263–268; Nevett 2005, 83–98.

8 Kourouniotis 1930, 2–53; Giamalidi and Kanellopoulos (forthcoming).

9 Andreou 1994, 195.

10 Korres 2009, 198–207; Kaza-Papageorgiou 2016, 130–32; Giamalidi (forthcoming).

11 Giamalidi 2013, 32.

12 Andreou 1994, 207; Lohmann 1992, 35–9; Jones et al. 1973, 335–452.

13 Engraving of inscriptions and representations is common practice and can be viewed as an alternative way of communication, interaction, and even individual projection.

14 Taylor 2010, 91, 102; Bultrighini 2013; 2015, 27–53.

15 Langdon 2015, 55.

16 Langdon 2016, 88–9 fig. 40.

17 Langdon 2016, 85 fig. 22; For ancient Greek erotic inscriptions see Themis 2014.

18 Van den Moortel and Langdon 2017, 383–86 figs 2–4, 394–95 figs. 17–8.

19 Langdon 2015, 51–2.

20 The south-western foothills of Mount Hymettus have remained untouched by modern interventions; as they preserve their geological relief, they act as a model landscape for the entirety of Attica. Faskomelia Hill and Vouliagmeni Lake have been included in the “Natura 2000 Directive” of the European Union, due to their special ecological value.

located within the administrative boundaries of the modern municipal unit of Vouliagmeni. This low mountain range, suitable for grazing sheep and goats, may have functioned as a natural observatory, as it offered a panoramic view of the sea routes from Sounion to Piraeus, Aegina, Salamis, and the opposite coast of the Peloponnese, from its slopes and peaks. The rocky terrain has also produced *horoi* (ὄροι),<sup>21</sup> which to some extent clarify the administrative boundaries between the ancient deme of Aixonides Halai and Anagyrous.<sup>22</sup> It is thus established that the semi-mountainous land of the ancient deme –the stony ground (φειλλεύς)<sup>23</sup>– was an integral part of the daily life of its ancient inhabitants, and was also significant to the overall economy of the area.



Fig. 2. The rock engraving with the depiction of god Pan and the warrior-*hoplite*.

## THE REPRESENTATION

Recently, engravings of two figures within the same pictorial frame were discovered on the hill of Faskomelia (Fig. 2). More specifically, the figure of a deity and the figure of a warrior-*hoplite* were identified on the relatively smooth and oblique surface of a trapezoid-shaped piece of marble (indicative dimensions: 55/82 cm by

21 Goette 1994, 121–4; Krasilnikoff 2010, 51–3; Bultrighini 2013; Fachard 2016, 201–3.

22 Langdon 1985, 10; 1988, 75–81; Traill 1986, 116–22 (appendix).

23 The areas of the demes with rocky soils, where brushwood, herbs and aromatic plants grow, suitable for grazing and logging, are characterized as *φειλλεύς*. Krasilnikoff 2008, 37–49; 2010, 52–3.

90/100 cm) within karstic limestones. The figures are represented in a row, moving towards the left, and occupy, approximately, the middle of the rocky surface.

### *Pan*

The leading figure is identified with a deity, due to its larger dimensions, its position in space and its physiognomic features (Fig. 3a). More specifically, the figure can be identified with the god Pan<sup>24</sup> as the *tragomorphic* (goat-like) features –specific to this divine being– are clearly discernible in the representation. The deity is rendered in cross-section and the *tragomorphic* features can be seen, especially on the head (Fig. 3b). To be more precise, these features are upright horns, a flattened snout nose and a beard with a sharp end. The details of the remaining facial features are unclear. The body of the deity is rendered more clearly: it is well-crafted, has symmetrical proportions, and follows basic human anatomy. The deity holds a *lagobolon*<sup>25</sup> (a stick used for hare hunting) with his raised and curved left hand, while the right hand is not shown at all. Pan moves with his left



Fig. 3a. Detail of the rock engraving.

24 LIMCVIII, 923–41.

25 Boardman 2000, 28–41. For the use of the *lagobolon* see Kapouzouz 2009, 56, fig. VI, 12. For a representation of Pan with a



Fig. 3b. The head of the god Pan in magnification.

leg extended. His lower extremities end in hooves, and are thin, indicating his animal ancestry.<sup>26</sup> Moreover, he has a long horse-tail. The figure is placed in the center of the depiction and Pan's impetus is further emphasised by his extended forward leg and raised arm. All in all, as represented in the engraving, Pan has the head, neck, horns, hooves and tail of a Satyr, while the rest of his body is human. The divinity gathers an array of individual characteristics and symbols, in order to further emphasise its wild animal nature.

### *Hoplite*

The figure that follows Pan is identified with a warrior, specifically an Athenian *hoplite* running at the double (*δρόμῳ*). The warrior is bearded, wears an Attic helmet, and holds a shield and a spear.<sup>27</sup> His head is represented in cross section. The line from the nose to the forehead is straight, the eye is represented with a dot (which is engraved off-center) and the mouth with a fine indentation. The body of the warrior is rendered in three quarters and has symmetrical proportions. The *hoplite* holds the spear with his left hand, in a position that gives the impression that he is ready to shoot it, while his shield is in front of the body at chest height. The shield is circular and is represented by two arched engravings, while at the same time the line of the body is also indicated. Both legs are bent at knee height, though the right one is extended. On his feet, the warrior's greaves are represented with a well-shaped engraving. The feet of the warrior are rendered schematically, whereas his toes are not discernible.

The representation of god Pan and a warrior-*hoplite* in the same pictorial scene is novel and suggests that this is a scene related to the battle of Marathon (490 B.C.). More precisely, this is the moment when, according to the ancient sources and mythology, the Athenian army, in a phalanx formation,<sup>28</sup> attacks the barbarians running at the double (*δρόμῳ*).<sup>29</sup>

*Iagobolon* see LIMCVIII, 615, Pan 33.

<sup>26</sup> LIMCVIII, 613–14, Pan 22, 24.

<sup>27</sup> Schwartz 2009, 25–101; Stronk 2019, 152; Krentz 2013a.

<sup>28</sup> Schwartz 2009, 102–200; Krentz 2013a, 149; 2013b, 35–44.

<sup>29</sup> Herodotus (VI.112): “ἐνθαῦτα ὡς ἀπείθησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι δρόμῳ ἔεντο ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους. ἦσαν δὲ στάδιοι οὐκ ἐλάσσονες τὸ

## PAN IN MARATHON

The god Pan<sup>30</sup> is a creation of the inhabitants of Arcadia, of Arcadian nature and way of life. He is primarily a deity associated with animal husbandry and the protection of herders and hunters. These qualities emphasise his relationship to music (as he is the inventor of the pastoral syrinx), his activity as a hunter, his erotic solitude and the perversion this causes, as well as his detachment from the comforts of urban life. Pan is a free-spirited deity, who inhabits the mountains, enjoys the pleasures of life, is merry and noisy and a tireless lover of nymphs, boys, and animals.<sup>31</sup> He is the personification of countryside morals –an agricultural deity *par excellence*. Just like the Satyrs, the Silenoi and the Centaur, Pan is a hybrid deity,<sup>32</sup> in between a man and a goat. Pan, however, in contrast to the aforementioned creatures, which existed only in myth and theatre, had an established cult and sanctuaries.<sup>33</sup>

During the classical period, his cult expanded beyond Arcadia, to Attica and other Greek regions, and found its main expression in the rural areas of the cities. The epiphany of the god to the runner Pheidippides was the reason (*αἴτιον*)<sup>34</sup> for the adoption of the cult of Pan in Athens during the 5th century B.C. More specifically and according to the sources,<sup>35</sup> the god appeared to Pheidippides, who had been sent by the Athenians to Sparta to ask for the help of the Lacedaemonians in the fight against the Persians.<sup>36</sup> Pan, after expressing his complaints because the Athenians ignored him, even though he had helped them many times, promised to provide assistance in the battle of Marathon.<sup>37</sup>

Pan's participation in the battle led to the victorious outcome of the war and resulted in the establishment of his cult in Attica. The annual festivities, the torchlight relays (*λαμπαδηδρομίες*), the sacrifices performed in his honor and the cave of Pan on the northwest slope of the Acropolis,<sup>38</sup> are all tributes to the god Pan by the

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μεταίχιμιον αὐτῶν ἢ ὀκτώ ... οἰδὲ Πέρσαι ὀρέοντες δρόμῳ ἐπιόντας παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς δεξόμενοι, μανίην τε τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι ἐπέφερον καὶ πάγχυ ὀλεθρίην, ὀρέοντες αὐτοὺς ὀλίγους καὶ τούτους δρόμῳ ἐπειγομένους, οὔτε ἵππου ὑπαρχούσης σφι οὔτε τοξενμάτων"; Aristophanes, *Acharnians*, 696–700; Dionysopoulos 2012, 218–20; Merkouris and Spathari 2010; Steinhauer 2009, 104; Regarding the attack at the double –at a run– of the hoplites see Krentz 2013b, 35–44; Stronk 2019, 120–21.

30 On the cult of Pan see Herbig, 1949; Roussos 1986, 240–43; *LIMC* VII, 923–41; Boardman 2000, 28–39; Borgeaud 1988; Mastrapas 2013, 111–22.

31 *LIMC* VII, 633, Pan 258.

32 Aston 2011, 109–19.

33 Borgeaud 1988, 48; Neumann 2020, 68; In Arcadia Pan was worshiped in temples or in the countryside. On the contrary, in Attica his worship was organized in caves, in which he was worshiped together with other deities and mainly with the Nymphs. Regarding the similarities and differences between the caves of Attica that were dedicated to Pan, in terms of the way of worship, the type of votive offerings, the origin and the social origin of the devotees-worshippers, the other deities worshiped in the same cave and the place that Pan held in the respective sanctuaries, see Arapogianni 2000; Neumann 2020, 85–8.

34 Petridou 2016, 16–20. According to Petridou, epiphanies “functioned as crisis management tools”. Petridou chooses Pan's epiphany to the Athenian runner Pheidippides to introduce her *epiphanic schema*: “The major political and military crisis the Athenians were faced with in 490 gave rise to the god's epiphany, which in turn authorized an intermediary...to suggest that divine alliance was to be expected in the course of the battle, which resolves the crisis. The resolution of the crisis is subsequently commemorated by the establishment of a new cult, a festival, athletic games, divine images, or/and some other conspicuous cultic feature (e.g., sacrifices, theoric journey) in honor of the deity that manifested itself. Thus, the original epiphany ends up operating as the *aition*, the reason behind the establishing of these cultic features”; Garland 1992, 18–9.

35 Herodotus (VI, 105–6); Pausanias (I. 28.4).

36 Pheidippides' meeting with Pan took place on Mount Parthenion in Tegea, Arcadia, the birthplace and main cult center of the god.

37 Pausanias (I.28.4). Repeating the narrative of Herodotus, Pausanias adds a new point, that the god promised to Pheidippides that he will join the fight with the Athenians at Marathon (“τὸν δὲ Πᾶνα ὁ Φιλιππίδης ἔλεγε περὶ τὸ ὄρος ἐντυχόντα οἱ τὸ Παρθένιον φάναί τε ὡς εὐνοῦς Ἀθηναίοις εἶη καὶ ὅτι ἐς Μαραθῶνα ἤξει συμμαχήσων”), and 8.54.6 (“Πανός ἐστιν ἱερόν, ἐνθα Φιλιππίδη φανῆναι τὸν Πᾶνα”).

38 See footnote no. 34.

Athenians for his decisive contribution to the battle of Marathon. The importance of the contribution of the god to the battle is also evident from the fact that general Miltiades dedicated a statue to Pan for his help in the battle against the Medes.<sup>39</sup> Since then, the worship of the god was incorporated into the religious customs of the citizens of Athens and spread widely. The almost simultaneous flourishing of his worship, immediately after the Persian Wars, is particularly impressive<sup>40</sup> and this is evident by the plethora of scattered caves in Attica dedicated to the god,<sup>41</sup> such as the cave of Pan in Vari.<sup>42</sup> The established and organised cult of the god in the cave “Nympholiptou” is an irrefutable proof of his worship by the citizens of the ancient deme,<sup>43</sup> all in an environment determined by the mountainous range of Hymettus, with its rocky soil and sparse vegetation.

The cult of Pan in Attica<sup>44</sup> is not only a sign of his devotion to animal husbandry, but is also associated with the socio-economic conditions that developed after the Cleisthenian reforms. The spread of his cult suggests an organized effort of the *polis* to strengthen the rural population’s morale, creating the necessary ideological background that would stimulate the farmer’s self-confidence, the bond between them, as well as their ties with their land, while at the same time aiming to enhance farming in the Attic countryside all together.<sup>45</sup> Pan in Attica, therefore, plays an important role in the economy of the remote outskirts of Attica and in the financial support of the middle class, such as the *hoplites* who fought in the battle of Marathon,<sup>46</sup> who now actively participate in politics.

### *Hoplites at the battle*

The *hoplites* class consisted of free citizens, owners of small or medium-sized land, who had the financial resources to purchase and maintain their costly armaments. As part of the *hoplite* phalanx,<sup>47</sup> they act with discipline, in a sense of community,<sup>48</sup> bravery and solidarity. They are ready and willing to defend the state with their lives, thus claiming the right of participation in military and civic affairs, like the Assembly.<sup>49</sup> The reforms proposed by Cleisthenes<sup>50</sup> (circa 508/7 B.C.) made all public offices accessible to citizens and secured popular

39 This information derives from an epigram attributed to Simonides of Keos. See Anth.Plan, 232: “τὸν τραγόπουν ἐμὲ Πάνα, τὸν Ἀρκάδα, τὸν κατὰ Μήδων, τὸν μετ’ Ἀθηναίων, στήσατο Μιλτιάδης”; Gartzziou-Tatti 2013, 98.

40 Neumann, 2020, 86.

41 Papademetriou 1958, 15–22; Deligeorgi-Alexopoulou 1980, 126–76; Arapogianni 2000, 14–187; Neumann 2020, 67–85. The Attic caves dedicated to the god Pan: 1) The caves of Pan on the northwest and south slopes of the Acropolis. 2) The sanctuary on the Hill of the Nymphs, Athens. 3) The Parilissium sanctuary of Pan, Athens. 4) The Oenoe cave, Marathon. 5) The Phyle Cave on Mount Parnes, (Fyli) Phyle (the so called “Lychnospilia”). 6) The cave “Nymphaeon” on Mount Penteli. 7) The cave of Pan at Daphni. 8) The cave “Nympholiptou” at Vari. 9) The cave of Eleusis.

42 Weller 1903; Schörner and Goette 2004; Deligeorgi-Alexopoulou 1980, 159–57; Arapogianni 2000, 93–137; Neumann 2020, 82–3.

43 The cult of the inhabitants of the ancient deme of Aixonides Halai in the cave of Vari is confirmed by the votive relief with the inscription: E[ΥΚΛ]ΗΣ ΛΑΚΛΕΟΥ ΑΛΛΑΙΕΥΣ [EAM 2012 (IG2,11-1113,1 4653)], Arapogianni 2020, 111; Neumann 2020, 83.

44 Borgeaud 1988, 133–62.

45 Lohmann 1992, 35–9.

46 Pritchard 1998, 125–27. After the battle of Marathon, the *hoplites* became an example of bravery and virtue, and were praised by tragic and comic poets, historians, and orators alike.

47 A considerable number of scholars (Echeverría 2012, 291) support the idea that the rise of the “*hoplite*” and the introduction of the “*phalanx*” belong to the Archaic period. Echeverría (2012) reconsiders the concepts of “*hoplite*” and “*phalanx*” from the point of view of the extant literary and epigraphical evidence, and argues that both “*hoplite*” and “*phalanx*” are concepts belonging to the Classical period.

48 Raaflaub and Wallace 2007, 35–6.

49 “The notion that citizens qualifying as hoplites were privileged politically over those who did not is based on Solon’s ‘timocratic’ constitution”, Raaflaub 2007, 128; The participation of the citizens in the commons and in the governance of the city-state was determined by their property situation.

50 According to Ober (2007, 84–104, 84, 86), it was not Cleisthenes’ actions that determined the essential political evolution, but the Athenian *demos*, who was the protagonist of the democratic institutional “foundation”. He suggests that the rise of democracy was not the result of the competition between the Aristocrats, but was the product of popular action and participation.



participation. The battle of Marathon confirms that the *hoplite* class is capable of defending Athens and Athenian ideas not only against the external enemies, the Persians, but also against the internal nobles.<sup>51</sup> The victory of the *hoplites* was significant and provided confidence to the *demos*, so that two years later *demos* “used for the first time the law about ostracism,”<sup>52</sup> which can be considered indicative of the role of democracy in creating a new historical, social, and political status in the Athenian society.<sup>53</sup>

## DATING

In an attempt to date the engraved representation, we must rely on vase painting and the ways the figure of Pan is represented. In most of the painted scenes, Pan is depicted chasing mortals (men, women, and animals) for the purpose of sexual intercourse, dancing, chasing, in the company of gods, semi-gods, nymphs, satyrs and other mythological entities. It is certain that the engraver is aware of how Pan is attributed in vase painting,<sup>54</sup> sculpture<sup>55</sup> and metallurgy, and is also familiar with his typical physiognomic characteristics. More specifically, in terms of metallurgy,<sup>56</sup> the engraving shares common features with the head of Pan that adorned the caduceus (*κηρύκειον*), which the statue of the goddess Nike by Callimachus on the Acropolis probably carried.

The *tragomorphic* form of the god evolved over the years and gradually acquired additional human features. In the beginning of the 5th century B.C., the animal nature of the god was depicted mainly on the feet, which were represented by hooves, just like the engraving on the hill of Faskomelia.

The god is depicted with hooves in the Attic red-figure pottery of the first half of the 5th century B.C. Examples include the bell-shaped crater at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (*BAPD* 206276),<sup>57</sup> the alabaster at the Archaeological Museum of Bonn (*BAPD* 14588),<sup>58</sup> and the olpe at the National Archaeological Museum of Naples (*BAPD* 202603),<sup>59</sup> all of which are dated around 500–450 B.C., as well as the pelike at the Archaeological Museum of Rhodes (*BAPD* 216599),<sup>60</sup> dated around 450–400 B.C.

Nonetheless, there are differences between the engraving of Pan from Faskomelia and the aforementioned depictions in vase painting. Although in vase painting the god has goat-shaped facial features and hooves, in none of these depictions does he simultaneously carry his symbol (the *lagobolon*), has a long tail, and pertains to the erect phallus (*ithyphallic*).<sup>61</sup>

In terms of the depiction of the *hoplite*, the engraver also draws inspiration from vase painting, specifically the way in which divine and mortal figures are depicted in three quarters.

Combining the information already presented with the terminus post-quem of the battle of Marathon, as well as the dated inscriptions and the markings of the ships from the nearby and wider areas,<sup>62</sup> it is safe to assume that the engraving is dated to the first half of the 5th century B.C.

51 Kagan 1961, 397.

52 Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.* 22.3): “διαλιπόντες ἔτη δύο μετὰ τὴν νίκην, θαρροῦντος ἤδη τοῦ δήμου, τότε πρῶτον ἐχρήσαντο τῷ νόμῳ τῷ περὶ τὸν ὀστρακισμόν”. For Cleisthenes’ foundation of the ostracism see Kagan 1961.

53 Cartledge 2007, 162; Hafez 2015, 10.

54 *LIMC* VIII, 613–14, Pan 22, 24.

55 *LIMC* VIII, 614, Pan 30.

56 *LIMC* VIII, 615, Pan 33; Boardman 2000, figs. 35, 36.

57 <http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/record/375D1087-1B3F-47D8-A93B-BCCE16B6FDF6>

58 <http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/record/8E0C29B1-E24C-41D5-8E08-70448FAD4061>

59 <http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/record/4B821AD3-CBE4-4834-96AE-944562AC9567>

60 <http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/record/57C76E6F-ADA3-4051-B7E6-518942BB326B>

61 He is depicted as an *ithyphallic* on the pelike at the Archaeological Museum of Rhodes.

62 The engravings of the ships and the inscriptions from the area of the Faskomelia hill date back to the archaic times, according to relevant publications (see footnotes no. 17–19).

## THE ENGRAVER

The engraver of the representation at Faskomelia hill renders his forms realistically. His original synthesis is adapted to the special conditions of his rocky “canvas”, his special artistic abilities as well as his artistic origins. The placement of the representation in the middle of the available space is quite impressive and reveals sophistication and premeditated design – this is not a superficial or spontaneous creation. The harmonious proportions of the bodies, their pictorial relationships and their naturalistic movement are also admirable features of this representation. The engraving exudes a sense of confidence, remarkable stability, comfort, familiarity with the subject and the anatomical details of the figures and the artistic trends of the time. We can also identify occasional failures, such as the poor representation of the warrior’s feet, his raised hand, as well as the hand of god Pan. These failures, however, should not be attributed solely to the artist’s incompetence, since engraving on hard rock is a difficult endeavour (Fig. 4).

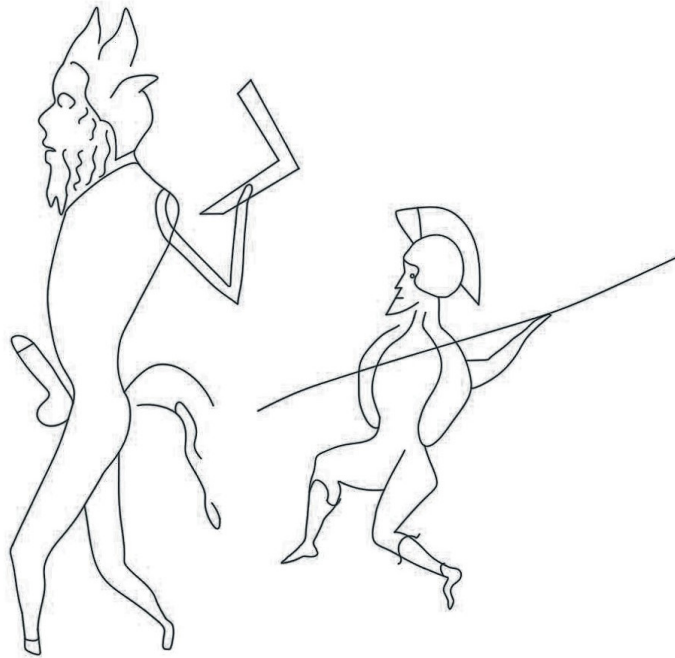


Fig. 4. Drawing of the engraving of god Pan and the warrior-*hoplite*.

Our attempt to determine the identity of the artist can lead to various hypotheses. The engraver could be a young shepherd with special artistic sensitivity and abilities, who, impressed and influenced by the recent majestic victory in Marathon, wanted to honor his patron-god, so familiar and approachable, representing the moment of the battle where the god leads the *hoplites*.

Another valid hypothesis is that the artist could be a veteran warrior, who, grateful to Pan for assisting at the battle of Marathon, decided to pay tribute to him on the eve of the sea battle of Salamis, once again asking for his godly help. It is also tempting to hypothesize that this could be the work of a man who “spied”<sup>63</sup> on the ships sailing alongside the Saronic Gulf that extends on the horizon. In this case, we may assume that the engraver

63 According to Platias (2020, 388), a spy network was designed and implied for the naval battle of Salamis.

is a young man, an ephebes,<sup>64</sup> who serves the *polis* by patrolling<sup>65</sup> the countryside, as part of his preparation to transition to the adulthood, or even a soldier on patrol,<sup>66</sup> who either guards the *demos*<sup>67</sup> territory or observes and spies for possible enemies' movements in the Gulf.

The mere existence of many warships' engravings,<sup>68</sup> inscriptions<sup>69</sup> and one unpublished boustrophedon inscription<sup>70</sup> in close proximity to the spot of the Pan engraving, which reads "ΧΑΙΡΙΑΣ ΕΙΜΙ Ο... ΚΑΤΑΣΚΟΠΙΟΝ..."; strengthens the above hypothesis even further. In addition, we must take into consideration that the location of Faskomelia hill is the most suitable place for a panoramic sighting and control of the Saronic Gulf and the surrounding area. Furthermore, the strategic importance of this area for the defence of Attica is confirmed by the existence of the two towers<sup>71</sup> east and west of the temple of Apollo Zoster at Laimos in Vouliagmeni, of the homonymous peninsula, during the 5th century B.C. and in the periods following.<sup>72</sup>

Therefore, regardless whether the engraver were an ephebes or a soldier, we can assume that in the face of a new threat from the Persians, ten years later, at the naval battle of Salamis, he decided to invoke an epiphany of Pan *via* his representation, in the hope of the god re-assisting towards another majestic victory.

## CONCLUSIONS

We are of the opinion that the scene represents, in a simple and naturalistic manner, the moment when the Athenian army attacks under the leadership of Pan.<sup>73</sup> The artist of the engraving recognizes the god as the determining factor of the glorious victory in Marathon and culminates his role by the side of the Athenians.<sup>74</sup> The

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64 *Ath. Pol.* 42; The ephebes were the young Athenian men, eighteen - nineteen years old, of various classes, financially supported by the city, who were trained in military matters so that they became soldiers, citizens, and men; For the institution of ephebeia see Vidal-Naquett 1986; According to Barringer (2001, 47–8), the ephebeia was institutionalized in Athens by the 4th century, but the fact that the ephebic oath (*an oath where they promised to behave like hoplites*, Vidal-Naquett 1986, 127) includes archaizing forms, which suggests that it is older, led some scholars to believe that ephebeia already existed as an institution in the 5th century; Pritchard 1998, 127; Polinskaya 2003, 85–106.

65 *Ath. Pol.* 42, 4: "καὶ λαβόντες ἀσπίδα καὶ δόρυ παρὰ τῆς πόλεως, περιπολοῦσι τὴν χώραν καὶ διατρίβουσιν ἐν τοῖς φυλακτηρίοις"; The ephebes did not remain in the frontier areas but they were also involved in the patrolling of the Attic countryside. Polinskaya 2003, 101.

66 Van den Moortel and Langdon 2017, 403.

67 The reforms of Cleisthenes and the organization of the Attica land into municipalities *de facto* imposed the existence of "borders" between them, for the exploitation of the natural resources of each region and, therefore, the need for control and protection was urgent. Additionally, in a short distance from the Pan engraving, there is an HOROS inscription of the 4th century B.C., which confirms the existence of a boundary between the ancient deme of Aixonides Hallai and the deme of Anagyrountos; Langdon 1985, 5–10.

68 Van den Moortel and Langdon 2017, 386 fig. 4.

69 Langdon 2015, 51.

70 This boustrophedon inscription was found by the authors in the vicinity of the engraving. The publication will follow in due time.

71 Stavropoulos 1938, n. 1, 6–7.

72 Varoucha–Christodouloupoulou 1961, 340–3; McCredie 1966, 30–2.

73 Pan at the battle of Marathon: on the event and its effect see Borgeaud 1988, 91, 94–5, 133–62; Borgeaud speculates that Pan may have appeared after the battle, when the Persians regrouped and headed for Athens to occupy it, before the Athenian forces returned from Marathon. At this crucial point the god spread panic in their armies and, at the time of great danger for the city of Athens, he prevented the Persians from reaching the city earlier than the Greek army, thus averting an impending catastrophe; Garland (1992, 51–4) is of the opinion that Pan helped to cause fear and panic among the numerous Persians, while on the other hand, he inspired courage and boldness among the few Athenians; According to Petridou (2016, 17), Pan's epiphany to Pheidippides "...and his promise for divine alliance on the battlefield was the reason why 'the vastly outnumbered Athenians' were not defeated by the 'the vastly superior Persians'".

74 The presence of Pan at the battlefield is not mentioned either by Herodotus or by Pausanias. The mural that adorned the famous

imposing presence of the goat-shaped deity spread panic<sup>75</sup> among the Persian ranks. The presence of Pan in the battlefield is indisputable to the engraver, as he was familiar with the mythology; thus it reflects an alternative version of the participation of the god in Marathon. Of all the gods who contributed to the victory of Marathon, the choice of depicting Pan is reasonably expected, due to the status of the artist, the nature of the god and the landscape in which the engraving belongs.<sup>76</sup>

The engraving confirms that Pan is part of the legend surrounding the battle of Marathon and the epic victory that followed. Essentially, his depiction confirms the information deriving from the ancient written sources about the way the Athenians attacked, as well as the panic caused by the presence of the god.

The god Pan, “the great reconciler of the city and the countryside”<sup>77</sup> is the symbol of the victory against the barbarians. The engraving at Faskomelia hill is the product of an astounding and creative artistic nature, and reflects the ideological background, the thoughts and the belief system of the inhabitants of the countryside, regarding the battle of Marathon.

The aftermath of the battle never subsided and remained in the collective imagination of every human in antiquity.<sup>78</sup> The magnificent victory in Marathon over numerous Medes was a source of inspiration for many writers and artists, not only for those who witnessed the battle, but also for the generations that ensued throughout the centuries.

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Stoa Poikile in the Agora of Athens reflected the epic dimension of the battle and the epiphanies of the gods, demigods and heroes who participated in it (Athena, Hercules, Theseus, Echelaios, Marathon), as well as the presence of the historical figures who led it (Kallimachos, Miltiades), according to Pausanias' description (Pausanias, I.15,4).

75 For panic and Pan see Borgeaud 1988, 88–116, 90–1, 94–5.

76 Borgeaud 1988, 60. The area was far from the center of the ancient municipality (marginal land) and its rocky terrain prevented cultivation. This was a place suitable only for grazing and hunting. Not only was in the boundary of the ancient municipality, but also it was a symbolic boundary between the human and divine presence. Essentially, it was a place overlooked and dominated by the god Pan.

77 Steinhauer 2009, 158.

78 Pritchard 1988, 121–27.

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